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Abstract

If asked to decide which was the more significant festival, 'Australia Day' or 'Anzac Day', the majority of Australians would ignore the ostensible national celebration for the commemoration of a bloody failure. The Anzac legend which developed around the deeds of Australian soldiers at Gallipoli and on the Western Front has long been a focal point of Australian nationalism. 1 The 'Anzac' has become a cultural and literary stereotype enshrined in popular imagination as someone who was 'tough and inventive, loyal to ... mates beyond the call of duty, a bit undisciplined ... chivalrous, gallant, sardonic'.² It is easy to see in the 'Anzac' the idealized bushman of the 1890s translated to a military setting. 3 The legend was shaped by much of the literature of the war but its origins are to be found in *The Anzac Book*. 4 Like all legends, it has great popular appeal and Australians do not readily tolerate any questioning of the value of the Anzac legend.

DAVID KENT

Bean's 'Anzac' and the Making of the Anzac Legend

I

If asked to decide which was the more significant festival, 'Australia Day' or 'Anzac Day', the majority of Australians would ignore the ostensible national celebration for the commemoration of a bloody failure. The Anzac legend which developed around the deeds of Australian soldiers at Gallipoli and on the Western Front has long been a focal point of Australian nationalism.¹ The 'Anzac' has become a cultural and literary stereotype enshrined in popular imagination as someone who was 'tough and inventive, loyal to ... mates beyond the call of duty, a bit undisciplined ... chivalrous, gallant, sardonic'.² It is easy to see in the 'Anzac' the idealized bushman of the 1890s translated to a military setting.³ The legend was shaped by much of the literature of the war but its origins are to be found in *The Anzac Book*.⁴ Like all legends, it has great popular appeal and Australians do not readily tolerate any questioning of the value of the Anzac legend.

The image of the Anzac which is central to the legend, was a careful and deliberate creation of C.E.W. Bean, whose role in the evolution of the Anzac legend and the accuracy of the image he imposed on the Australian public have provoked a vigorous debate amongst historians.⁵ I suggest that Bean's portrayal of the Anzac reflected his predilection for hero-worship and his anxiety to salvage something from a grotesque failure. He acted as a prism through which the experience of Gallipoli was projected and distorted so that Australians were presented with an over-simplified view of the realities of war and its effect on men. Finally, I maintain that the immense sales and enormous popularity of *The Anzac Book* ensured that Bean's image of the 'Anzac' became a model for Australians and the heart of the Anzac legend.

Gallipoli, rather than the battlefields of the Somme or Flanders, established the reputation of the Australian soldier. The first military challenge the AIF faced had a special significance and the people of Australia waited eagerly for news that the young nation had proved itself in battle. Most Australians in 1914 saw themselves as transplanted Britons; they basked in the glory of imperial majesty. The whispered

The Anzac Book



**Written and Illustrated in Gallipoli by
The Men of Anzac**



Cover of *The Anzac Book* (1916)

fear, however, was that Australia might not be equal to the task of supporting the mother country. When glowing reports of the landing reached Australia, Gallipoli instantly became a national triumph. It was doubly rewarding for Australians that the earliest reports came from the English war-correspondent, Ellis Ashmead Bartlett, the reporter of many imperial conflicts, for he spoke with authority. The *Sydney Morning Herald* drew its readers' attention to this:

[H]e has not written his despatch for the special edification of Australians – he has written it for the London papers which he represents. So when he says that the Australian troops ... have proved their right to stand beside the heroes of Mons, the Aisne, Ypres, and Neuve Chapelle, we can read into that declaration a glorious meaning indeed.⁶

Bartlett was effusive in his praise; he had 'never seen anything like the wounded Australians', who were happy 'because they knew they had been tried for the first time and had not been found wanting'. The Anzacs he described were heroic figures, 'a race of giants', whose courage and physical endurance were beyond measure. Hyperbole was such a feature of nearly all the contemporary reporting of Gallipoli that it is not hard to understand how the whole episode acquired 'a most venerated almost mystical status'.⁷

Much of what has passed into historical parlance as the Anzac legend is derived, however, from the labours of Charles Bean, the war-correspondent, official historian and editor of *The Anzac Book*.⁸ It was, as will become evident, his efforts in the last mentioned role which established a particular view of the Anzac in the popular imagination. Bean's wartime despatches, unlike those of most correspondents, were unemotional and matter-of-fact for he refused to write the 'wretched cant' demanded by a public which sought only flattery 'and that in its cheapest form'.⁹ His historical writing was wholly a product of the post-war period and the six volumes which appeared between 1921 and 1942 merely reinforced the image which was already accepted.

Bean was unique among war-correspondents in seeking out and sharing the everyday dangers of the front-line soldier. He quickly realized that in a situation as unreal as war even the most ordinary actions became heroic. In his diary he acknowledged the difficulty faced by a correspondent who wished to record the mundane, dutiful heroism of the soldier who did his job, at a time when the public in Australia was becoming accustomed to sensationalism.¹⁰ He also confided to his diary, what he could never have said publicly, that not all Anzacs did their job properly and some actually ran away from battle, those fleeing passing those advancing 'not taking the faintest notice of one another'.¹¹ Nonetheless, Bean saw in the AIF a nucleus of strong, resolute men who were prepared to stick at their monumental task if possible, 'cheerfully and without the least show of fear'.¹² These

were the men who displayed the characteristics which Bean was to popularize in *The Anzac Book* and enshrine in the official history until their image encompassed all and 'Anzac' became a model and inspiration for a nation.

II

The Anzac Book was originally intended to be a magazine for the troops to liven the winter period and celebrate the dawning of 1916. It was suggested to Bean in mid-November that an 'Anzac Annual' might be compiled using contributions drawn from the Army Corps. A small committee was formed and within two days it had appointed Bean as editor, decided on the type of material required, offered prizes to stimulate contributions, fixed on a mid-December printing in Athens and rejected the title 'Anzac Annual' as too suggestive of a long stay on the Peninsular.¹³ Bean wrote to all units urging contributors to 'make it worthy of Anzac and a souvenir which time will make increasingly valued'.¹⁴ The decision to evacuate Gallipoli gave this directive a prophetic tone and radically changed the nature of the proposed magazine.¹⁵ The committee resolved to proceed with publication but in doing so the venture was transformed from a 'trench magazine' into a commemorative souvenir of an heroic but unsuccessful campaign. Gallipoli, it must always be remembered, was a disaster which cost the lives of 10,000 Australians and New Zealanders; the only unalloyed success was the evacuation. Nevertheless, *The Anzac Book* gave Bean an opportunity to salvage something from this appalling waste of life and show people in Australia why, even in defeat, their soldiers should be a source of pride.

The 'Anzac' found in the pages of the souvenir was tough and enduring, he accepted discomfort with a resigned good humour and was affectedly casual about the dangers of battle.¹⁶ In one short story, 'Icy', the central character is an object of derision because he ducks at each explosion though he finally redeems himself by acting heroically to assist his comrades. 'Icy' was a reluctant warrior but he showed he could stick it out and not let his mates down even if it meant injury or death. These themes are repeated throughout *The Anzac Book*.¹⁷ This 'Anzac' was also a bushman, or that is the impression Bean creates by a few references to the civilian origins of the AIF. 'Wallaby Joe', the hero of one story, rides a thousand miles over drought-stricken plains to enlist. Tall, lean, bearded, 'in appearance the typical bushman', he drinks and swears but is modest and shy with women. Joe adapts easily to life in the trenches for 'the knowledge he had been imbibing from Nature all his life made him an ideal soldier'.¹⁸ This 'Anzac' enjoyed simple fun, good company and the odd beer.¹⁹

None of the items which produced this picture was written by Bean,

but he chose to build *The Anzac Book* around them because they corresponded to his vision of the essential Australian, the bushman. It must be remembered that although Bean spent his youth and early manhood in England, he developed a romantic attachment to the Australian outback, its values and people, during his journalistic travels just before the war.²⁰ The articles he wrote reveal his fascination with the rough democracy of the inland, the independence of the bushman and the credo of mateship. Some Australian soldiers certainly fitted his image and the author of 'Wallaby Joe' enclosed a note with his manuscript which claimed that 'the sketch is absolutely true to life, and many will recognize the counterpart'.²¹ It did not matter to Charles Bean, however, that the majority of men in the AIF were from the cities or that they had acquired a most unsavoury reputation in Egypt, for his 'Anzac' was from the start an image of how some men were and many might be.

Part of the legend of 'Anzac' began with the circumstances in which *The Anzac Book* was produced. Most contemporary reviewers repeated Bean's editorial observation that many contributions were written with 'the crack of Mauser bullets overhead', and many saw the flood of contributions, which Bean claimed was 'enormous', as a tribute to the characteristic insouciance of the Australian.²² The *Bulletin* review was typical, commenting that 'there must have been almost as many poets as fighters at Gallipoli'.²³ The editorial, and the reviews which echoed it, were to found the popular belief that every soldier had a poet's pencil in his knapsack, a notion which simply added to the lustre of the achievement. An analysis of *The Anzac Book* and the rejected manuscripts reveals the scale of Bean's misrepresentation. On November 16, when the plans for the evacuation were drawn up, and two days after the request for contributions, there were 134,722 allied troops on the Peninsular and 41,218 at Anzac Cove. Yet only one hundred and fifty individuals offered contributions. *The Anzac Book* had fifty-five literary and fifteen artistic contributors; it was never valid to claim, as Bean did, that the response from the soldiers was 'enormous'.

The Anzac Book was not even an accurate reflection of the contributions Bean received. The file of rejected manuscripts held in the archive of the Australian War Memorial shows how narrow was the range of material he selected. These unused manuscripts provide telling evidence that he excluded any material which might have modified the image he wished to project. Bean chose material which recorded those everyday discomforts which were not suitable copy for despatches, but he rejected totally any material which might have tarnished the name of 'Anzac'. Where the rejected material expresses sentiments found in *The Anzac Book* it is usually of poor quality and it can be assumed that Bean rejected it because of its literary or artistic shortcomings. Where the excluded contribution deals with a facet of the Gallipoli experience

which is not reflected in *The Anzac Book* and is additionally as good as many in the souvenir, it seems reasonable to assume that it did not accord with the editor's purpose.

One characteristic of modern mass wars is that in their early stages they require a 'definitive work of popular literature' which trivializes the horrors of war.²⁴ While it is impossible to prove that Bean had such an end consciously in view, it is significant that he rejected anything which documented the danger, brutality, suffering, and dehumanizing effects of war. The dirt, the flies, the cold and the myriad discomforts of Gallipoli are all revealed in *The Anzac Book* and treated with grim humour, but the total effect is most superficial.

Many contributions, however, emphasized the harsh realities and deadly intimacy of trench warfare: 'The Night Look-Out' was excluded, presumably because it was too realistic an account of the sporadic intensity of the fighting.

We peer with strained eyes, yet almost blind,
Into the inky blackness of the night,
Slow moving scrub bending to the wind,
Close to the loophole, all there is in sight.

Machine guns crackle, rifles spit
Their deadly mouthfuls at the bags of sand.
A curse, a smothered groan, tells when a hit
Is registered to foes so near at hand ...

The spasm's over, quiet once again
Save for the hidden snipers deadly zone.
A crack, a fall, a groan of anguished pain,
Another passes to the Great Unknown.²⁵

'The Night Attack' focused upon the murderous monotony of trench combat but was set aside even though it displayed conventionally patriotic sentiments.

Crippled and Dead Dead and Crippled
In ghastly rows as the fighting rippled
The deed of valour – the great travail
Lying and sighing, and stifling the wail.

Ration and Rest Rest and Ration
The tired men of a fighting nation
A meal to exist – A short respite
Scheming and dreaming and adding their mite

There were poems which told of the relentless tedium of standing watch and others which dealt with the futile assaults euphemistically called 'Stunts' or 'Demonstrations': 'They cabled to the papers we made a Demonstration on our right / Our casualties were heavy and

sniping bad at night'. It is evident, however, that Bean deliberately excluded any contributions which dealt realistically with the dangers of combat, with the result that *The Anzac Book* trivialized the experience.

In a wonderfully reflective passage in his diary Bean noted how few men really wanted to fight, how some had to be driven into action at pistol point, how many ran away and how some would mutilate themselves to escape from the front.²⁶ No trace of this all too human reluctance was allowed to appear in *The Anzac Book* even though several contributions accepted malingering and cowardice in a humorous matter-of-fact fashion. Bean's 'Anzac' displayed none of these weaknesses and in embracing all Australian soldiers as 'Anzacs', he could not use material which took them for granted. There was, naturally, no place for a letter written by a Sapper to a wounded friend who had been evacuated to Australia; the writer was good-humoured about his assorted privations in true 'Anzac' fashion but mentioned a very revealing episode:

A young fellow was being carried down on a stretcher the other day, and in answer to my sad enquiries said 'I've got two bonzer wounds. They're worth twenty pound to me. I'll get a trip away at last.' He seemed quite pleased though he was rather badly hit.

Bean knew that fear, cowardice and reluctance 'were the true side of war' but he wondered 'if anyone would believe me outside the army'.²⁷ *The Anzac Book*, as a commemorative souvenir, was no place to mention the fear which gripped most men at Gallipoli. The only reference to fear in the souvenir is the story of 'Icy' the 'cold-foot' who finally shows his mettle by a solo raid on a machine-gun post.²⁸ The sense of sacrificial absolution is very clear, for 'Icy's' displays of fear are forgotten as his comrades carry him to a dressing station. When fear was mythologized in this way there was no room for contributions which accepted it as a fact of life at Gallipoli.

There were other realities which Bean chose to ignore in his idealization of the 'Anzac'. Many contributions showed the Australian soldiers as they saw themselves and poked fun at their propensity for drinking and getting into mischief. One excellent narrative poem would have drawn a smile from those soldiers who remembered the early days in Cairo:

— He hadn't a brilliant record,
His paybook was full of things
That don't help a man to promotion,
And tell that he don't wear wings
For Jim had a little weakness -
Some fellows call it a gift,
And told the most envious legends
Of the beer that Jim could shift.

And if he did knock out a policeman
 In Cairo, when full of the dope,
 By mistakin' the coon for Jack Johnson,
 And himself as the white man's Hope;
 And if he did let down the guard tent
 It didn't hurt anyone much,
 The things were just done in good nature,
 And should have been taken as such.

Another poem, the 'Light Horse Mule-Transport Song', recalled the incidence of venereal disease among the Australians in Cairo and the treatment 'Of sandalwood oil an' the great pot-permang, / For blokes who play loose without giving a hang'. While it is easy to see why Bean might have omitted this offering which would certainly have caused offence to the families of the Anzacs, it is harder to explain why he rigorously excluded all the other poems which showed an enthusiasm for drink. As a consequence, the 'Anzac' of *The Anzac Book* is not recognizable as the same Australian soldier who is written about in numerous trench and troopship magazines.²⁹ It seems most likely that the tone of a commemorative souvenir and Bean's own moral primness persuaded him to ignore the soldiers' self-confessed weaknesses in his memorial to their strengths.

A chivalrous regard for the enemy was one of the 'Anzac' characteristics much remarked on by reviewers of *The Anzac Book*. One British reviewer thought it was 'a sentiment that adds a proper lustre to the glory of their fame'.³⁰ Bean was responsible for adding this sporting recognition of the enemy; his poem, 'Abdul', which acknowledged the bravery of the Turks was cited in almost every review. Only Bean with his English public school background could have written:

We will judge you Mr Abdul
 By the test by which we can -
 That with your breath, in life, in death,
 You've played the gentleman.³¹

It is particularly significant, however, that no other contribution, whether used or rejected, voiced a similar sentiment. Bean shaped the image of the 'Anzac' for the most part, from other men's words, but in compiling the souvenir he frequently ignored feelings which the troops had expressed, and in 'Abdul' he associated the 'Anzac' with a sentiment which no other contributor had shared.

Bean was particularly careful in his choice of material which drew attention to the loss of life at Gallipoli. A commemorative souvenir had to pay tribute to the fallen, especially since there was not even the satisfaction of a victory to justify their deaths, and there are some moving, elegiac poems in *The Anzac Book* including 'Non Nobis' by Bean.³² All of them, however, are devoid of any personal anguish and

the sacrifice is justified by a reminder of duty. Even in 'Graves of Gallipoli', easily the most sensitive of these eulogies, the consequences of war are all assuaged by the final line, 'They died pro patria'. Yet there were a number of contributions which displayed a bitter, more personal sense of loss.³³ Bean could not minimize the cost but in excluding any poem or story which expressed the bitterness of personal grief he ensured that the tributes to the fallen remained basically conventional utterances. His determination to mask any bitterness can be seen in his excision of the following verse from 'Killed in Action' which is arguably the only expression of real grief in *The Anzac Book*:

There's a nation filled with madness, crazy righteous
 holy gladness,
 News of battle! Tales of conquest! Little loss and so
 much gain!
 But beneath this pride of triumph runs a deeper
 note of sadness,
 Pity, comfortless and feeble, for the kindred of the slain!³⁴

Although Bean's editing of most material in *The Anzac Book* was minimal, except perhaps for an altered word and improved punctuation, he radically altered the character of two pieces. The story published as 'Anzac in Alex' bears no relation to the original story, 'That Night at Bencis', which was a tale of racial hatred and violence. Bean simply used the opening paragraphs to give an innocent picture of Anzacs at play. More significant though was his subtle manipulation of the piece entitled 'The Landing'. Bean deleted most of the references to death and injury; after his pruning it reads like an account of a glorious, dangerous game.³⁵ He also removed the author's inference that a blunder had occurred when the order to fix bayonets betrayed the soldiers' positions, by suggesting that it was perhaps shouted by one of the enemy.

The Anzac Book is an inadequate tribute to the men who served at Gallipoli. It certainly reflects the daily struggle with hardship and danger in the pursuit of an impossible task, but it is only a partial record of the way the Anzacs responded to the experience. Australian soldiers were demeaned by the shallow caricature which passes for the 'Anzac' in its pages. Bean set aside the suffering, grief, bitterness, horror and plain human weakness about which many contributors wrote. The image of the 'Anzac' which remained, which was so quickly absorbed into the public consciousness, was the product of his editorial activity and the first step in his memorializing of the AIF.

III

A legend derives its strength and social importance from the number of people who find in it a satisfactory explanation of events. Most legends evolve over a long period but the Anzac legend is remarkable for the speed with which it was established. The essentials of the legend, and in particular the image of the 'Anzac', were defined in just a few months in 1916 largely because *The Anzac Book* reached a vast audience and met with great popular approval.

Bean committed his enormous energy to *The Anzac Book*. He completed his editorial work in late December 1915 and left for London where he arranged that Cassell should publish the souvenir and he was back in Egypt with the proofs by early February.³⁶ He personally supervised arrangements for the sale and distribution with a thoroughness which matched his determination that the Anzac story should be spread far and wide. Soldiers could purchase copies in advance by a direct deduction from their pay and for an extra sixpence on the purchase price of two shillings and sixpence the book would be sent to any address in the Empire.³⁷ The purchase of a bookplate guaranteed a copy and Bean sold bookplates on the troopdeck of the S.S. *Transylvania* during the move from Egypt to France.³⁸ Altogether he co-ordinated the sale of over 29,000 bookplates in France, collecting thousands of orders during his visits to Australian units in April.³⁹ The units of the First Anzac Division ordered over 36,000 copies of an initial printing of 55,000; when the first postal copies arrived in France in May 1916 there was a further rush of orders.

On the day the first copy reached France Bean recorded Brigadier-General White's opinion that *The Anzac Book* 'will be a much bigger thing than we have any conception of'.⁴⁰ The response from the soldiers and the British and Australian press proved that White's optimism was well-founded. It was a 'remarkable volume', 'the book of the year for all stay-at-home Australians', 'to be treasured in homes throughout the Empire'.⁴¹ The review in the *Sydney Morning Herald* noted that Gallipoli had given Australia a tradition and that *The Anzac Book*, as the record of that tradition, had a unique place in Australian literature.⁴² Evidently it was well on the way to becoming the authorized version of the Gallipoli experience.

Bean also endeavoured to spread the ideals of 'Anzac' among the reinforcements from Australia and there was no better gospel than *The Anzac Book*. In September 1916 he secured permission to purchase 20,000 copies of a reprinted edition and within days he was offering them to the new units.⁴³ 3,000 copies were allocated to each Division and unit commanders were given reply forms on which to record their anticipated sales.⁴⁴ Right up to the end of the war Bean continued to press sales of *The Anzac Book* even though other souvenir editions had

overtaken it. *The Anzac Book* reached a much wider audience than any other souvenir or official history; it could be found in many homes in Australia and New Zealand and was distributed throughout the Empire. Over half the copies ordered by the First Anzac Division were sent directly to Australia and this pattern persisted with later sales. By November 1916 the AIF had ordered over 53,000 copies and a royalty statement prepared two months earlier showed that 104,432 copies had been sold.⁴⁵ In this way the 'Anzac' tradition, the role-model, the image and the legend was disseminated among the reinforcements and the people of Australia. *The Anzac Book* was the first evidence of Bean's life-long devotion to the memory of the 'Anzac' and the 'Digger'. Its importance is best gauged by his insistence that several hundred copies be reserved for museums, memorials and libraries and his belief that the manuscript was an important document which should be deposited with the War Records Section.⁴⁶

Australian public opinion has always had a special regard for the book and Bean's hope has been realized that Australians would see in the 'Anzac' a moral exemplar for peacetime.⁴⁷ But has it been such a useful example? It could be argued that the image established by *The Anzac Book* in fact demeaned the original Anzacs by denying them their complexity as human beings and creating a shallow stereotype instead. As the detailed recollection of the war has faded, the invocation of 'Anzac' has had less and less to do with the actual sacrifice at Gallipoli and more to do with unquestioning nationalism and aggressively masculine virtues.⁴⁸ It is perfectly possible that the customary philistinism, cultural and racial chauvinism, and insensitive sexism of many Australians has been, in part, attributable to the enduring effect of the Anzac legend and Bean's representation of the Australian at war.

NOTES

1. Many Australian historians have considered the Anzac tradition in the context of national identity. See for example, K.S. Inglis, 'The Anzac Tradition', *Meanjin*, 24, 1 (1965), pp. 25-44; 'The Australians at Gallipoli', I & II, *Historical Studies*, 14, 54 (April 1970), pp. 219-30, and 55 (October 1970), pp. 361-75; G. Serle, 'The Digger Tradition and Australian Nationalism', *Meanjin*, 24, 2 (1965), pp. 149-58; N.D. McLachlan, 'Nationalism and the Divisive Digger', *Meanjin*, 27, 3 (1968), pp. 302-08; W.F. Mandle, *Going It Alone: Australia's National Identity in the Twentieth Century* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1978), pp. 3-23; R. White, *Inventing Australia* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1981), pp. 125-139; J. Robertson, *Anzac and Empire: The Tragedy and Glory of Gallipoli* (Melbourne: Hamlyn, 1990), pp. 245-267; E. Andrews, *The Anzac Illusion: Anglo Australian Relations during World War I* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
2. Mandle, op. cit., p. 4.
3. W. Gammage, 'Anzac', in J. Carroll ed., *Intruders in the Bush; the Australian*

Quest for Identity (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 62.

4. C.E.W. Bean, ed., *The Anzac Book* (London: Cassell, 1916). See also, R. Gerster, *Big-Noting: The Heroic Theme in Australian War Writing* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1987), pp. 27-34. While Robertson, op. cit., p. 259, is typical of those who argue that it was the soldiers who 'created' the Anzac legend and not Bean, Robertson acknowledges Bean's role as 'the main transmitter ... of the Anzac legend'.
5. For a fuller discussion and for references to the debate which surrounds Bean's role see J. Barrett, 'No straw man: C.E.W. Bean and some critics', *Australian Historical Studies*, 23, 89 (1988), pp. 102-17, and A. Thomson, 'Steadfast Until Death? C.E.W. Bean and the Representation of Australian Military Manhood', *Australian Historical Studies*, 23, 93 (1989), pp. 462-78.
6. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 May 1915, p. 14.
7. K. Fewster, 'Ellis Ashmead Barlett and the Making of the Anzac Legend', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 10 (June 1982), p. 17.
8. Bean awaits a full biography. The most useful discussion of his life and work is still the Macrossan lecture by K.S. Inglis, *C.E.W. Bean, Australian Historian* (St. Lucia, Univ. of Queensland Press, 1970). D. McCarthy, *From Gallipoli to the Somme: The Story of C.E.W. Bean* (Sydney: John Ferguson, 1983) is good on Bean's early life and shows how readily he formed his romantic impressions of rural Australia.
9. K. Fewster ed., *Gallipoli Correspondent: The Frontline Diary of C.E.W. Bean* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1983), pp. 156, 159.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 157-8.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
14. AIF Publications Box 1, File AIF Publications Sales and Disposals 1915-18. Australian War Memorial Written Records Section (hereafter Sales and Disposals). Circular to all units, 805/2.
15. Bean, op. cit., p. xiii.
16. See for example: 'The Aegean Wind'; 'The Never Ending Chase'; 'The Happy Warrior'; 'Flies and Fleas'; 'Army Biscuits'; 'The Cave man'; 'The Growl'.
17. See for example: 'The Landing'; 'Glimpses of Anzac'; 'Anzac Dialogues'; 'How I Shall Die'; 'Beachy'; 'Confession of Faith'.
18. Bean, op. cit., pp. 45-46.
19. See for example: 'A Raid on London'; 'Anzac in Egypt'.
20. Bean's articles were published in book form as *On The Wool Track* ([1910]; Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1945), and *The Dreadnought of the Darling* ([1911]; Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1956).
21. Anzac Book Manuscript and Rejected Manuscripts, 3 DRL 8044, Australian War Memorial Written Records Section (hereafter Anzac MSS).
22. Bean, op. cit., p. xiv.
23. *The Bulletin*, 29 June 1916.
24. P. Fussell, *The Great War in Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 28.
25. Anzac MSS.- Rejected MSS. All the rejected material can be located in this file and will not be given separate footnotes.
26. Fewster, *Gallipoli Correspondent*, p. 157.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
28. Bean, op. cit., pp. 102-103.
29. D. Kent, '"A Life on the Ocean Wave": Troopship Literature 1914-19', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, 10 (1987), pp. 3-10; 'Trench Newspapers at

Gallipoli', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 78 (1992), pp.120-132.

30. Anzac MSS - Reviews, *Western Daily Mercury*, 25 May 1916.
31. Bean had been a pupil at Clifton College, the *alma mater* of both Douglas Haig, C. I. C in France, and William Birdwood, O. C. of the Anzac Corps. Another Old Cliftonian, Henry Newbolt, captured the public school ethos in verses which, while very popular at the turn of the century, are best remembered today in the single line: "Play up! play up! and play the game!". One of Newbolt's poems, 'Clifton Chapel' has a verse which might explain why Bean chose to write 'Abdul' for the souvenir for it could stand as a statement of Bean's purpose in *The Anzac Book* and the official history.

To set the cause above renown,
To love the game beyond the prize,
To honour, while you strike him down,
The foe that comes with fearless eyes;
To count the life of battle good,
And dear the land that gave you birth,
And dearer yet the brotherhood
That binds the brave of all the earth.
32. See for example: 'Our Fathers'; 'Graves of Gallipoli'; 'Trojan War 1915'; 'The Price'.
33. Anzac MSS. - Rejected MSS. See for example: 'Mothers of Men'; 'Trooper Denver'; 'His V.C.'
34. Anzac MSS. - Anzac Book MS. Bean omitted this the fifth verse and in verse seven changed 'We ain't got no Daddy now our Daddy's killed and dead', to 'Simple words that bring her memories o'er the boundaries of the dead'.
35. *Ibid.*, Bean excised references to 'death dealing bullets', mantraps, snipers, bloodlust, and the shell fire which was concentrated on the landing craft.
36. Fewster, *Gallipoli Correspondent*, p. 202; Sales and Disposals, letter from White to Reid, 8/12/1915; circular from Carruthers, 11/2/1916.
37. Sales and Disposals, circular from Bean, 11/3/1916.
38. Bean Diaries, Australian War Memorial, Written Records Section, No. 41, pp.64-65.
39. Sales and Disposals, letter to Bean, 13/12/1916 re. sales of *The Anzac Book*.
40. Bean Diaries, No. 44, p.8.
41. Anzac MSS. - Reviews, *The Sunday Times*, 28 May 1916; *The People*, 28 May 1916; *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 17 June 1916; *Referee*, 28 May 1916.
42. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 June 1916.
43. Sales and Disposals, telegram Bean to White, 15/9/1916; circular from Carruthers, 27/9/1916.
44. *Ibid.*, Circular from Carruthers, 9/10/1916.
45. *Ibid.*, letter Cassell to Bean, 22/9/1916.
46. Australian War Memorial Registry File 12/12/1. Folder National War Records Section. Bean to Smart, 6/2/1917, p. 5.
47. A facsimile of *The Anzac Book* was published by Sun Books of Melbourne in 1975 which sold extremely well. The publishers noted on the back cover that the book offered 'the truth behind the legend'.
48. For a feminist perspective, see A. Howe, 'Anzac Mythology and the Feminist Challenge', *Melbourne Journal of Politics*, 15 (1983-84), pp. 16-23; D. Tyler, 'Making Nations, Making Men; Feminists and the Anzac Tradition', *Melbourne Historical Journal*, 16 (1984), pp. 24-33.